

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
1993 Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1006 Respondents
County: September 10-13,

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4041
NBC News/WSJ
September 1993

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1		1		1

September 1993

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15]
	8	1
Not registered.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	
Right direction.....	33	27	27	<u>3</u> 37	43	47	<u>2</u> 45	<u>2</u> 15	<u>1</u> 34	[16]
Wrong track.....	49	55	56	44	35	27	32	71	48	1

Mixed (VOL).....	12		13	10	11	11	14	11	9	13
Not sure.....	6		5	7	8	11	12	12	5	5

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	[17]
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1993.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
Ross Perot							
September 1993.....	12	24	26	19	16	3	[18]
July 1993.....	13	24	25	17	17	4	
June 1993.....	16	25	24	16	15	4	
April 1993.....	17	27	27	15	11	3	
March 1993.....	16	31	25	13	11	4	
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1993.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
Al Gore							
September 1993.....	17	30	24	12	12	5	[19]
March 1993.....	19	28	23	12	9	9	
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1993.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
Colin Powell							
September 1993.....	32	27	17	4	3	17	[20]
June 1993.....	37	27	13	4	2	17	
May 1991*.....	37	30	14	3	2	14	
March 1991*.....	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991*.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	
Bob Dole							
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14	[21]
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
April 1993.....	13	25	26	11	7	18	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	[22]
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1993.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 4a. If the 1996 presidential election were held today, and the candidates were **(ROTATE NAMES)** Bob Dole, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Bob Dole.....	26	27	27	[23]
Bill Clinton.....	38	35	35	
Ross Perot.....	27	28	30	
All equally (VOL).....	-	-	3	
None of these (VOL).....	4	3	5	
Not sure/refused.....	5	7	-	

- 4b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Approve.....	3	3	3				[24]
Disapprove.....	50	45	41	52	57	51	
Not sure.....	39	45	50	34	26	16	
	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

- 4c. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	42	40	33	45	52	[25]
Disapprove.....	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	10	9	11	15	20	

(FORM A)

- 4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	47	3	38	47	47	[26]
Disapprove.....	34	36	43	30	22	
Not sure.....	19	14	19	23	31	

(FORM B)

- 5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92</u> *	<u>10/91</u> *	<u>7/91</u> *	<u>10/90</u> *	
Approve.....	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	[27]
Disapprove.....	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
Not sure.....	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

* Asked only of registered voters.

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 5b. Looking ahead to next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92</u> *	<u>9/92</u> *	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92*</u>	
Reelect representative.....	37	30	31	31	27	33	37	42	[28 1]
Give new person a chance.....	47	55	56	56	62	57	52	48	
Not sure.....	16	15	13	13	11	10	11	10	
					<u>12/91</u> *	<u>10/91</u> *	<u>10/90</u> *	<u>11/89</u> *	
					35	40	39	41	
					52	48	48	36	
					13	12	13	23	

- 5c. In next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>11/92</u> *	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>8/92*</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>10/90*</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	29	31	35	29	32	29	31	33	[29 1]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	32	32	45	46	43	43	35	35	
Depends (VOL).....	24	25	4	6	7	7	11	14	
Neither (VOL).....	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	13	9	15	17	17	19	20	16	

* Asked of registered voters.

- 5d. If you knew nothing else about the following two candidates who might run for Congress in next year's elections, which one would you be more likely to support? **(ROTATE DESCRIPTIONS:)**

Candidate A supported President Clinton's economic program, supported President Clinton's health care program, and supported the North America Free Trade Agreement.

Candidate B opposed President Clinton's economic program, opposed President Clinton's health care reform program, and opposed the North America Free Trade Agreement.

Which candidate would you be more likely to support--Candidate A or Candidate B?

Candidate A/supported economic program, health care reform, and NAFTA.....	5	[30]
Candidate B/opposed economic program, health care reform, and NAFTA.....	2	
Depends on candidate (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	
	3	
	7	

- 6a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	8	8	6	4	7	7	6	7	11	[31]
Unemployment.....	40	37	40	44	44	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit.....	26	31	28	28	28	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	11	10	11	9	7	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	8	6	8	7	8	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	4	4	4	5	3	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	

- 6b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	[32]
Will get worse.....	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

- 7a. This fall, the Clinton Administration and Congress are dealing with the following five issues, in addition to the economy and foreign policy. I would like to read you a list of these issues and ask you which ONE issue you would make the highest priority. **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.7a BELOW.)**

	<u>Q.7a Highest Priority</u>		<u>Q.7b. Second Highest Priority</u>	
Reforming the financing and rules for campaigns.....	2	[33]	6	[34]
Reforming the government to make it more efficient. .	37		28	
Reforming federal laws on crime.....	19	CONTINUE	25	
Reforming the health care system.....	33		29	
Dealing with the North American Free Trade Agreement.....	5		10	
All equally (VOL).....	3	SKIP TO Q.7c	-	
None of these (VOL).....	-		-	
Not sure.....	1		2	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.7a.)

- 7b. And which of these issues would be your second highest priority? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.7a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.7b. ABOVE.)**

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 7c. Do you feel confident or not confident that life for our children's generation will be better than it has been for us?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
Feel confident.....	25	41	+	+	[35]
Do not feel confident.....	68	52	51	45	
Not sure.....	7	7	5	5	

- 7d. Do you feel this is a good time or a bad time to buy a home?

	<u>9/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/89</u>	<u>4/89</u>	
Good time.....	<u>3</u> 73	62	*	74	81	[36]
Bad time.....	21	30	38	21	15	
Not sure.....	6	8	10	5	4	

*Asked only of registered voters.

- 8a. Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's economic program?

	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	
Favor President Clinton's economic program.....	<u>3</u> 42	43	<u>3</u> 39	<u>3</u> 50	[37]
Oppose President Clinton's economic program....	38	39	44	35	
Don't know enough to say (VOL).....	11	10	10	-	
Not sure.....	9	8	7	15	

- 8b. Do you believe Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big-government kind of Democrat, or is he a different kind of Democrat?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>10/92</u>	
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government Democrat...	37	<u>3</u> 38	<u>3</u> 42	<u>3</u> 29	* 35	[38]
Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat.....	54	54	47	60	56	
Not sure.....	9	8	11	11	9	

*Asked only of registered voters.

(FORM A)

- 8c. Here are some statements people have made about President Clinton's economic plan. For each one I mention, please tell me if you agree or disagree with that statement. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)** Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	<u>Agre</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Disagre</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
The plan will reduce unemployment				
September 1993.....	37	55	8	[39]
March 1993.....	52	39	9	
The plan will make the U.S. more competitive internationally				
September 1993.....	48	42	10	[40]
March 1993.....	50	37	13	
The plan will improve the U.S. economy				
September 1993.....	43	48	9	[41]
The plan will reduce the budget deficit				
September 1993.....	38	54	8	[42]
March 1993.....	52	40	8	
The plan will raise your personal income taxes				
September 1993.....	75	21	4	[43]

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 9a. Do you think the government can achieve significant savings by making government agencies and programs more efficient, or do you think the amount of possible savings is not really significant?

Government can achieve significant savings.....	7	[44]
	3	
Amount of possible savings is not really significant.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	5	

- 9b. Do you believe that the commission on reinventing government, which is headed by Vice President Gore and has proposed ways to save money by eliminating waste in the government, is a genuine effort to reform the government, or do you think it is just being done for appearances' sake?

Commission is genuine effort.....	5	[45]
	5	
Commission is just for appearances' sake.....	3	
	6	
Not sure.....	9	

Now I would like to ask you several questions on the issue of health care reform.

- 10a. Do you think that, overall, the current health care system meets or does not meet the needs of most Americans?

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Health care system meets the needs of most Americans.....	19	19	[46]
Health care system does not meet the needs of most Americans.....	78	78	
Not sure.....	3	3	

- 10b. I would like to ask you about your own experiences with the health care system. For each aspect of the health care system that I read, please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with that aspect. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), are you satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Satisfie</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Dissatisfie</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Dissatisfie</u> <u>d</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
The quality of the health care you and your family receive					
September 1993.....	72	17	9	2	[47]
March 1993.....	74	17	8	1	
The cost of the coverage you receive					
September 1993.....	44	26	28	2	[48]
March 1993.....	42	30	26	2	
The <u>availability</u> of health care to you and your family					
September 1993.....	69	16	13	2	[49]
March 1993.....	74	15	10	1	
The coverage you receive for preventive care					
September 1993.....	54	23	17	6	[50]
The ability of your insurance to cover you in the case of a catastrophic illness					
September 1993.....	52	19	19	10	[51]
March 1993.....	53	21	16	10	

- 10c. Which of the following do you see as the most important health care issue at the present time? **(READ CHOICES SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
The <u>cost</u> of health care.....	42	48	[52]
People who are not covered by insurance.....	41	35	
The <u>quality</u> of health care.....	10	8	
All equally (VOL).....	5	8	
None of these (VOL).....	1	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	

- 11a. In the first year that the Clinton health care plan is in effect, do you think your own health care costs will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

Think costs will go up.....	4	[53]
	6	
Think costs will go down.....	5	
Think costs will stay about the same.....	4	
	0	
Not sure.....	9	

- 11b. Over the next five years, do you think the Clinton health care plan will or will not save you money, compared to what your costs would be without the plan?

Clinton plan will save money.....	3	[54]
	0	
Clinton plan will not save money.....	5	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	5	

- 11c. Do you expect the program of standard benefits in the new health care proposal to be better, worse, or about the same as the benefits you now receive?

Expect benefits to be better.....	1	[55]
	9	
Expect benefits to be worse.....	2	
	6	
Expect benefits to be about the same.....	4	
	7	
Not sure.....	8	

(FORM A)

- 11d. Please tell me if each of the following will be helped by the Clinton health care plan, hurt by the plan, or not affected either way. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** Do you think **(READ ITEM)** will be helped by the Clinton health care plan, hurt by the plan, or not affected either way?

	Will Be <u>Helped</u>	Will Be <u>Hurt</u>	Will Not Be Affected <u>Either</u> <u>Way</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
You and your family.....	20	23	51	6	[56]
Doctors and health care providers.....	18	51	24	7	[57]
The country as a whole.....	55	28	9	8	[58]

(BOTH FORMS)

- 12a. In order to pay for the cost of providing health care to all Americans, without raising major new taxes, President Clinton is considering requiring all employers to help pay for health insurance coverage for their employees, with some federal assistance for small employers. The following are the arguments in favor and against this proposal. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Supporters of the Clinton proposal argue that employers can afford to provide health insurance coverage, because overall health care costs will be kept down under the new plan.

Opponents of the Clinton proposal argue that the cost of providing health insurance coverage will cause employers to eliminate jobs or not hire people they otherwise would.

Whom do you agree with more--those who say employers can afford to provide health insurance for their employees, or those who say the cost of providing health insurance coverage will cause employers to cut jobs?

Agree that employers can afford to provide coverage.....	36	[59]
Agree that employers will eliminate jobs.....	58	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM A)

- 12b. Which of the following three approaches do you think would be the best way to provide health coverage for all Americans? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: A system in which insurance companies would continue to provide health insurance coverage, with some government regulation to keep costs under control, and in which all employers would be required to provide health insurance for their workers.

Proposal B: A system in which the government would provide coverage to all Americans, and would collect all insurance premiums and pay all health care costs, without the involvement of employers or insurance companies.

Proposal C: A system in which the government requires all individuals to have health insurance--similar to the requirement for all car owners to have auto insurance--and low-income people would receive tax credits to help them pay for their coverage.

Proposal A/insurance companies and employers provide coverage.....	41	[60]
Proposal B/government provides coverage.....	23	
Proposal C/everyone required to have health insurance.....	31	
None (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

(FORM B)

- 12c. Which of the following two approaches do you think would be the better way to provide health coverage for all Americans? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: A system in which insurance companies would continue to provide health insurance coverage, with some government regulation to keep costs under control, and in which all employers would be required to provide health insurance for their workers.

Proposal B: A system in which the government would provide coverage to all Americans, and would collect all insurance premiums and pay all health care costs, without the involvement of employers or insurance companies.

Proposal A/insurance companies and employers provide coverage.....	49	[61]
Proposal B/government provides coverage.....	40	
Neither (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 12d. Would you be willing or would you not be willing to pay an additional \$50 a year in added health care costs in order to ensure that all Americans are covered and able to keep their coverage if they lose their jobs, change jobs, or develop a serious illness?

Willing to pay \$50.....	7	[62]
	9	
Not willing to pay \$50.....	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	2	

- 13a. Now I am going to read some of the compromises that Americans may be asked to make as a part of guaranteeing health care coverage to all Americans at a reasonable cost. For each one I read, please tell me if this compromise would be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would (READ ITEM) be totally acceptable, somewhat acceptable, somewhat unacceptable, or totally unacceptable? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Totally Accept- - able	Somewha t Accept- - able	Somewha t Unaccept- - able	Totally Unaccept- - able	Not Sure	
More government involvement in the health care system						
September 1993.....	23	48	13	14	2	[63]
March 1993.....	28	43	15	12	2	
Taxing employees on health care benefits they receive that are greater than the standard benefits package that every American will be guaranteed						
September 1993.....	10	32	24	30	4	[64]
A one-dollar increase in the tax on a pack of cigarettes						
September 1993.....	60	12	5	22	1	[65]
Limits on some of the health care services available to senior citizens through Medicare						
September 1993.....	10	17	17	54	2	[66]

- 13b. Thinking about President Clinton's efforts to reform our health care system, which of the following do you think would be the worst mistake that President Clinton could make: **(READ ITEMS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE.)**

Limiting the right to choose your own doctor.....	24	[67]
Not allowing some people access to the latest, high-tech treatments.....	11	
Increasing the cost to the average American.....	7	
Making employers pay for coverage for all of their workers.....	9	
Failing to guarantee that every American has health coverage.....	22	
Failing to enact government controls on the cost of health care and drugs.....	18	
All equally (VOL).....	5	
None/other(VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM B)

14. Here are some statements about President Clinton's health care reform package. From what you've read or heard, please tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement. **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agre</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Disagre</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The plan will decrease the size of the federal deficit.....	23	66	11	[68]
The plan will force many small businesses to close.....	55	38	7	[69]
New taxes will be required to pay for the plan.....	82	15	3	[70]
Treatment for mental illness should be included in the coverage to the same extent as treatment for physical illness.....	82	13	5	[71]
There is so much waste in our health care system that costs can be reduced without compromising the quality of health care.....	84	12	4	[72]
The plan will help control health care costs.....	63	28	9	[73]
The plan will pay for itself through savings over the current system.....	37	50	13	[74]

Now, some questions on a free trade agreement which Congress will consider this fall.

- 15a. Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Favor NAFTA.....	25	31	27	28	21	27	[75]
Oppose NAFTA.....	36	29	25	31	37	34	
Have not heard enough yet.....	34	36	44	36	38	35	
Not sure.....	5	4	4	5	4	4	

- 15b. Some people say that if the United States and its neighbors trade freely, without any restrictions, the U.S. will be better off because we can compete better than other countries. Other people say that the United States will be worse off if restrictions on trade are lifted because other nations will not play fairly with us. In your view, is the United States better off with or without restrictions on free trade?

U.S. better off with restrictions.....	5	[76]
	5	
U.S. better off without restrictions.....	3	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

- 15c. The United States has negotiated agreements to guarantee environmental protection and fair treatment for workers in Mexico, so that if the free trade agreement is passed, lower standards in Mexico will not hurt American companies. Do you agree or disagree that Mexico can be trusted to follow these agreements?

Agree that Mexico can be trusted to follow agreements.....	1	[77]
	9	
Disagree that Mexico can be trusted to follow agreements.....	6	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

- 15d. If the North American Free Trade Agreement is passed, do you think it would help, hurt, or not have much effect on business in your local area?

NAFTA would help local business.....	1	[78]
	4	
NAFTA would hurt local business.....	3	
	6	
NAFTA would have no effect on local business.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

- 15e. Do you believe Ross Perot is opposing the North America Free Trade Agreement because he genuinely believes it would be bad for the country, or do you think he is criticizing the agreement for political reasons?

Ross Perot genuinely believes agreement is bad.....	4	[79]
	8	
Ross Perot is criticizing agreement for political reasons....	3	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

- 16a. Now I would like to read you some statements that have been made about what may happen if the North American Free Trade Agreement is passed. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement. **(READ STATEMENTS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
American exports to Mexico will increase.....	51	38	11	[80]
American manufacturing jobs will move to Mexico.....	74	20	6	[81]
U.S. consumers will enjoy lower prices as a result of increased trade with Mexico.....	42	49	9	[82]
All countries will benefit from ending restrictions on trade, because their economies will grow.....	39	50	11	[83]
Only big American corporations will benefit.....	55	37	8	[84]
Some jobs would be lost in the U.S., but even more jobs would be created.	40	50	10	[85]
The United States, Canada, and Mexico will join economic forces to form a powerful trading bloc to compete with Japan and the European Community.....	44	40	16	[86]
Wages in the U.S. will have to fall, so that American companies and workers can compete with Mexico.....	54	38	8	[87]
The standard of living in the United States will rise over the long run.....	36	53	11	[88]

- 16b. Now I would like to read you some statements that have been made about what may happen if the North American Free Trade Agreement is not passed. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement. **(READ STATEMENTS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Dis-</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>Sur</u> <u>e</u>	
Serious political problems would be created in Mexico.....	39	43	18	[89]
We would have to give more foreign aid and loans to Mexico in order to support their economy.....	54	38	8	[90]
Japan and Europe will take advantage of economic opportunities in	53	37	10	[91]

Mexico, and we would lose the chance to export our goods to Mexico.....

]

- 17a. Would the North American Free Trade Agreement affect your job or the company you or your spouse works for?

NAFTA would affect job or company.....	1	[92]
	9	
NAFTA would not affect job or company.....	7	
	2	
Not sure.....	9	

- 17b. If the North American Free Trade Agreement resulted in some U.S. industries being hurt and some jobs being lost, but more new jobs were created than were lost, would you favor or oppose the passage of this agreement?

Would favor NAFTA.....	6	[93]
	9	
Would oppose NAFTA	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

- 18a. If the North American Free Trade Agreement is passed, do you think that immigration from Mexico into the United States will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

Immigration from Mexico will go up.....	3	[94]
	4	
Immigration from Mexico will go down.....	1	
	8	
Immigration from Mexico will stay about the same.....	4	
	4	
Not sure.....	4	

- 18b. If the North American Free Trade Agreement is not passed, do you think that immigration from Mexico into the United States will go up, go down, or stay about the same?

Immigration from Mexico will go up.....	3	[95]
	4	
Immigration from Mexico will go down.....	3	
	5	
Immigration from Mexico will stay about the same.....	9	
	4	
Not sure.....	4	

Getting close to the end of the survey, some questions on foreign policy.

- 19a. Do you think that American military forces should be used for humanitarian purposes, if our own national interests are not at stake, or should the American military be used only when our national interests are at stake?

Military should be used for humanitarian purposes.....	4	[96]
	2	
Military should be used only when national interests are at stake.....	5	
	2	
Not sure.....	6	

- 19b. Are you concerned that the United States is too deeply involved in Somalia, or do you think that our efforts in Somalia are under control?

U.S. is too deeply involved.....	5	[97]
	2	

Efforts are under control.....	3
	6
Not sure.....	1
	2

(FORM B)

20a. If Serbian forces continue to attack Bosnian cities or the United Nations peacekeeping troops in Bosnia who are trying to deliver humanitarian assistance, would you favor or oppose having the United States and its European allies conduct air strikes against the Serbian military forces?

		NBC Dateline	
	<u>9/93</u>	<u>8/93</u>	
Favor air strikes.....	58	53	[98]
Oppose air strikes.....	33	34	
Not sure.....	9	13	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 20b. The United States has offered to supply ground troops to enforce a peace agreement in Bosnia, if all sides agree to peace. Even with such a peace agreement, the U.S. forces could be subjected to sniper attacks or other hostile action. Would you favor or oppose having the United States supply these forces?

Favor supplying forces.....	3	[99]
	6	
Oppose supplying forces.....	5	
	9	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM B)

- 21a. Do you believe that the Palestinians and Israel will or will not be able to form a lasting peace agreement that will work?

Believe Palestinians and Israel will be able to form lasting peace agreement....	3	[100]
	1	
Believe Palestinians and Israel will <u>not</u> be able to form lasting peace agreement.....	5	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 21b. Do you think the United States should or should not make contributions to help pay for the costs of the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians?

U.S. should contribute.....	2	[101]
	6	
U.S. should not contribute.....	7	
	0	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

22. Which of the following statements most closely describes your feelings?

- 1)** You are sad because the baseball season is coming to an end;
2) You are glad because the football season is just beginning; or
3) You do not care much either way.

Sad baseball season is ending.....	9	[102]
Glad football season is just beginning.....	3	
	1	
Do not care either way.....	5	
	3	
Both sad and glad (VOL).....	4	
Neither sad nor glad (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

(BOTH FORMS.)

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	[103]
	6	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	6	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	7	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	4	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	6	[104]
Somewhat liberal.....	2	
	0	
Moderate.....	2	
	3	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	1	
Very conservative.....	1	
	1	
Views can't be described.....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[105]
	5	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	6	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	8	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	1	
Other.....	7	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[106]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	1	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	2	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	7	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	[107]
	2			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	6	
	0			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	5	
	2			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	7	
	3			
40-44.....	9	65 and over.....	16	
		Refused.....	1	

F6a. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

	2	[108]
Professional/manager.....	4	
White collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	3	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	6	
Retired.....	1	
	9	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	1	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	[109]
	1	
Do not work outside the home.....	1	
	9	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F6c. Are you, or is any member of this household, a member of a labor union?

Respondent is union member.....	1	[110]
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	0
Other person in household is union member.....	9
Non-union household.....	7
	9
Not sure.....	2

- F7a. Now I'd like to find out about your current health care coverage situation. Are you presently covered or not covered by health insurance? **(IF "COVERED," ASK:)** And is everyone in your immediate family living with you also covered by health insurance?

Covered By Health Insurance		CONTINUE	[111]
Respondent and everyone in immediate family.....	79		
Respondent, but not everyone in family.....	7		
Respondent, but not sure about family.....	-		
Not Covered By Health Insurance	13	SKIP TO Q.F8a.	
Not Sure/Refused	1		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE.)

- F7b. Which one of the following statements best describes how your health insurance is paid for? **(READ CHOICES.)**

You or a family member pays the full cost.....	1	[112]
	4	
You or a family member pays part, and an employer pays	4	
part.....	1	
An employer pays the full cost.....	1	
	4	
The government pays through Medicare or Medicaid.....	8	
Combination (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	1	
Not currently covered by health insurance.....	1	
	4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY COVERED BY HEALTH INSURANCE.)

- F7c. Is your health insurance provided by an HMO, that is, a health maintenance organization?

Provided by an HMO.....	2	[113]
	6	
Not provided by an HMO.....	5	
	0	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	
Not currently covered by health insurance	1	
	4	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- F8a. Do you have any children who live at home with you? **(IF HAVE CHILDREN AT HOME, ASK:)** How old are your children? **(IF DECLINE TO GIVE AGES, ASK:)** Are your children under age 6, age 6 to 11, age 12 to 15, age 16 to 18, or over age 18? **(ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)**

<u>Yes, Have Children at Home</u>		[114]
Under age 6.....	1	>
	7	
Age 6 to 11.....	1	
	8	
Age 12-15.....	1	
	2	
Age 16-18.....	7	
Over age 18.....	9	
<u>No, Do Not Have Children At Home</u>	5	
	5	
<u>Not Sure/Refused</u>	1	

- F8b. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	[115]
	8	
Catholic.....	2	

	9
Jewish.....	2
Other.....	1
	4
None.....	4
Not sure/refused.....	3

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	[116]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[117]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	8	

F11. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[118]
	5	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	5	